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TIMES

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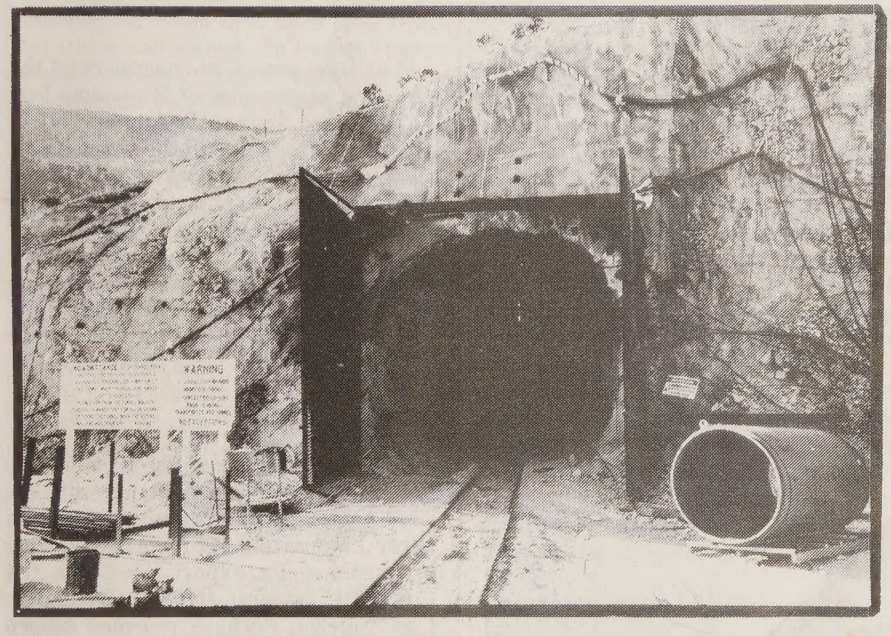
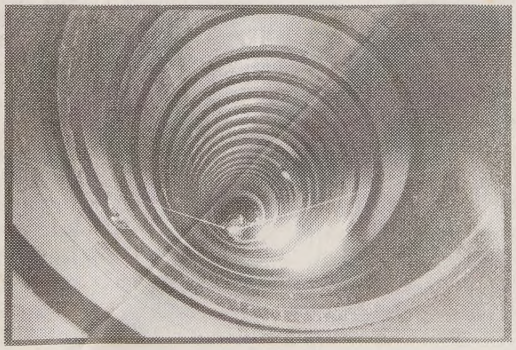
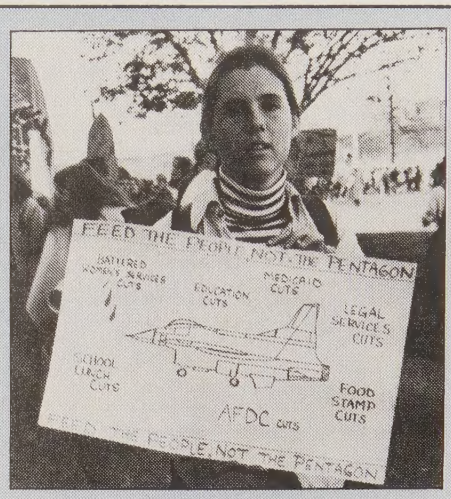
Light At The End Of The Tunnel?

The Comprehensive Test Ban Campaign





These remarkable photographs were taken last November at Area 12 of the Nevada Test Site. The top photo shows the side entrance to the "N Tunnel," one of three tunnel complexes in Area 12 run by the Defense Nuclear Agency. The tunnel leads to the LOS—Line of Sight—pipe, which is aligned by laser beams (as shown in the second photo) prior to a nuclear test. At the end of the 1000–foot–long horizontal pipe is the "Zero Room" where the nuclear device is detonated. Radiation shoots up the pipe, where measurements are taken, but within milliseconds of the explosion a series of doors slam shut, confining the blast to the Zero Room area.



Spring Rally: Late Bloomer?

■ *Page 10*

What *About* The Russians?

By Sanford Gottlieb

From the days of nuclear testing in the atmosphere to today's broad-based support for a nuclear freeze, a majority of Americans have favored arms control and disarmament measures. Yet there has been little arms control and no disarmament. Over the same period equal or larger majorities have distrusted and feared the Soviets. Anyone seeking to understand why the political will for disarmament has been so weak need search no further: Negative emotions have eclipsed positive views. We have been tongue-tied on this question for too long.

■ *Page 16*

Give Me Shelter

■ *Page 18*

·NUCLEAR·
TIMES

CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS 3
BLUEPRINTS 7
Introducing an expanded column.
NATIONAL 8
The campaign for a Comprehensive Test Ban goes global. Plans for the national April mobilization come down to the wire. And just how safe are our bomb factories? A sudden rise in citizen pressure to find out may have far-reaching consequences for the nation's nuclear weapons infrastructure.
FORUM 16
The time has come to address the "Soviet problem" squarely.
By Sanford Gottlieb.
NOTES FROM ABROAD 17
IDEAS THAT WORK 18
RESOURCES 19
CALENDAR 21
AUGUST 6/AUGUST 9 22

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Letters

CD Affair

Cheers for Renata Rizzo's coverage of the direct action debate at the 1984 Freeze convention [Jan-Feb '85]. The Direct Action Task Force is also to be congratulated for perceiving the need to "wrap the flag" around civil disobedience (CD).

When confronting those who would rather I carry my protest sign to Red Square, I reflect that because we in the United States do possess a unique set of political liberties, we are obligated to practice them. The price of liberty *is* eternal vigilance. Today, when our government seeks laws protecting nuclear weapons at the expense of the liberties these weapons ostensibly protect, vigilance demands that we push our political liberties to the legal limit *and then some.* We are slandered by assertions that protest and arrest are somehow un-American.

Our experience challenges Randall Forsberg's assertion at the conference that "in a way, CD is a cop out—you're giving up on the legislative and electoral channels." Discussions with antinuclear civil disobedients across the United States indicate that many (if not most) have *not* given up on these channels. They are just aware of this fact of U.S. history and herstory: movements for the most significant social change—from the abolition of slavery, through labor struggles, women's suffrage, integration and the movement to end the war in Vietnam—have had much of the legal channels dug by committed activists engaging in principled, albeit illegal, resistance to the status quo. Like the button says, "If the people lead, eventually, the leaders will follow."

—Jack Cohen-Joppa
Ukiah, Ca.

I highly commend your article "The New Face of the Freeze" [Jan-Feb '85]. It was one of the too rare cases where the matter of strategy has a public airing. I have in vain tried to persuade several peace related groups that a definite portion of their time should be spent on discussion of the basic question of selecting the most effective strategy to achieve their goals. The peace movement has been waging a losing battle since WW II. So we should be critically examining the reasons for this failure and looking for new approaches.

I do not think that this can be done in a general meeting such as that in St. Louis of the nuclear freeze advocates; emotions and enthusiasm tend to predominate over reason in such a gathering. A better plan would be to establish a "think tank" of competent and prestigious people to furnish advice on strategies to all peace organizations. It would need to have funds to carry out in-depth public opinion surveys to answer such questions as to whether civil disobedience actions are helpful or counterproductive.

—John Burton
Washington, N.J.

Remember Alamogordo

In all the reports on peace activities planned for this year, I have read nothing of commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Trinity Test (July 16, 1945). Is this possible? Surely disarmament activists must realize the historical significance of this event, it being the birth of the Nuclear Age. If not, there is definite need of educating here. I suggest you run a few articles on the Manhattan Project, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and his failed quest at disarmament before there were any vested interests in seeing these weapons manufactured.

—Jeff Smith
Fair Oaks, Ca.

May I propose a re-enactment of the very first observance of Hiroshima Day in the United States? [In August 1947 16 individuals from around the world held a solemn ceremony at Alamogordo.] I believe Alamogordo is an even more appropriate site than Nevada where peace-minded people and groups might share a sober memory. My late husband Eugene conceived and carried out the first event.

—Ruth Belisle
Hartford, Ct.

N.Z. NFZ

After learning about the troubles the New Zealand government has with regard to its ban on warships I sent a letter [supporting its step and vowing to purchase its export goods] to the Consulate General of New Zealand in Los Angeles. Perhaps you may inspire people to send similar declarations to their local Consulates. Just giving you an idea!

—Hedwin Kliche
Haleiwa, Hi.

In our resource box on ethical investing last issue we listed Franklin Research & Development Corporation as an investment advisor but failed to mention that it also publishes an advisory newsletter called *Insight*, available from 222 Lewis Wharf, Box 385, Boston, MA 02110.

Send letters to NUCLEAR TIMES, *298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.*

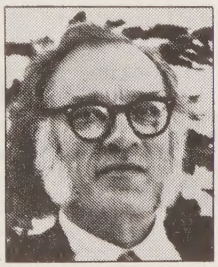
EARLY WARNINGS

WEATHER OR NOT: From an article on the offensive capabilities of "Star Wars" technology, in *The New York Times*, March 7, 1985: "Richard Garwin, an I.B.M. physicist opposed to the proposed defensive system, agreed that lasers of sufficient power could presumably shoot down airplanes or set millions of fires simultaneously all over the Soviet Union. And Henry W. Kendall, chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists, which opposes the Star Wars proposal, mused at a recent breakfast meeting with reporters that lasers might also be used for 'selective assassination,' perhaps picking off a whole row of top Kremlin officials watching the annual May Day military parade.

"But such feats would have to be carried out in good weather. Clouds block the laser light from reaching the earth. . . ." That's reassuring.

SCIENCE FRICTION: Seventy-one years after H.G. Wells first described atomic weapons and coined the phrase "atomic bomb," science fiction writers are not just foretelling, but playing a key role in, the political debate over nuclear weapons. Naturally, the battle ground is space.

President Reagan's "Star Wars" proposals have split the SF community down the middle. Robert A. Heinlein and Jerry Pournelle are promoting the High Frontier plan proposed by Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, which basically supports Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Pournelle co-authored a book called *Mutual Assured Survival* that was hailed by the President. Two of the leading magazines in the field, *OMNI* and *Analog*, back Star Wars, as does former *OMNI* editor Ben Bova. "SDI can be the salvation of civilization," Dr. Philip Chapman, president of the L-5 Society (an organization devoted to the promotion of space exploration), wrote in a recent newsletter.


Isaac Asimov

But on the other side stands an impressive array of sci-fi masters. Isaac Asimov recently quit the L-5 Society because it would not take a firm stand against space weapons. Arthur C. Clarke, author of *2001* and *2010*, has testified in Congress against Star Wars projects, calling them "technological obscenities," and proposing in their place cooperative missions with the Soviets. Another noted SF writer, Frederick Pohl, has said that most of his pro-SDI colleagues are simply looking for a way to "trick" the Pentagon into spending money on space programs. Bruce Franklin, editor of *Countdown to Midnight*, a new paperback dealing with nuclear-related SF, notes that many of the pro-Star Wars authors "have close ties with, or are paid consultants for, major aerospace firms."

QUILTERS: "I fell into a deep dream of peace," wrote Senator Spark Matsunaga after becoming the first senator to spend a night under the National Peace Quilt. "I swear I awoke with the biggest smile my face has ever worn." By the end of February, 11 senators (including the poetic Matsunaga) had slept under the quilt and written about their experiences —and their personal commitments to peace—in a log book that accompanies the quilt. Twenty-seven more had pledged to take the "sleep test" in the future.

The 10-by-13-foot quilt, which is made up of 50 patches based on drawings by children from each state, was created by the Boise Peace Quilt Project in Boise, Idaho. Their goal, says Diane Jones, coordinator of the National Peace Quilt Project, is to have all 100 senators sleep under the quilt. (Peace Links is also active in the project.) Among those who have already rested under the quilt are Gary Hart, Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Jim McClure, a conservative Republican from Idaho. Several senators, including Pennsylvania's Arlen Specter and California's Pete Wilson, have declined the offer, but Jones feels they may be won over yet. When completed, the quilt will be passed on to the Smithsonian Museum's Division of Political History. But for activists, notes Jones, the quilt can have more than historical importance. "People can approach their senators and say, 'You slept under the quilt and you said nice things about your commitment to peace. So why did you vote for the MX?! '"

The Quilt: Senators go undercover

LYING DOWN WITH THE LAMBS: In the wake of the Reagan Administration's increasing penalties against the government of New Zealand, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) in Boston, Massachusetts has initiated a letter-writing campaign, aimed at Congress, supporting New Zealand's right to ban nuclear-armed ships from its ports. John Loretz, communications director at WAND, says the group chose to actively

Blips

Next go-round on **the MX**: a floor vote on authorization for the next batch of 48 missiles in May or June, with an appropriations vote in July or September. "Our goal? *No* missiles for 1986," says Common Cause's Jay Hedlund .... One of the leading funders of young scientists working on Star Wars projects is the **Hertz Foundation**, founded by the rental car family. Edward Teller serves on the foundation's board .... Although the Congressionally-imposed moratorium ran out in March, the Administration has announced that it will not test an **ASAT** until at least June, after a round of arms talks .... The new addition of *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care* includes a section on **children's fears** of nuclear war. The preface urges "political activity by parents to make a good world for their children and to preserve it from nuclear annihilation" .... **Samantha Smith**, 12, who toured the Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet leaders after writing about her fears of nuclear war, will soon co-star in a television series pilot with Robert Wagner, about an insurance investigator and his daughter .... Conservatives in California are urging **Charlton Heston** to run against Alan Cranston for a Senate seat next year .... New phrase reportedly in vogue at the Pentagon to connote today's uneasy version of the Cold War: **"violent peace"** .... In a stunning reversal, the public now believes—by a 4 to 1 ratio—that the United States is spending **too much on the military**, according to the latest Gallup Poll, and not enough on social programs. The anti-military spending sentiment is the highest in the survey since 1971 .... **Jonathan Schell** is reportedly working on a major article for *The New Yorker* on space weapons .... Jane Gruenebaum has been selected as the **Freeze Campaign**'s new executive director. Meanwhile, final proposals for a national membership program for the Freeze have been assembled and will be voted on at the next national committee meeting in May.

support New Zealand because the country's action may break the ice for other nations that oppose nuclear weapons. Senator William Cohen of Maine has introduced a sense of the Senate resolution asking the Administration to not extend an agreement (which ends this month) providing special trading status to New Zealand if that country's antinuclear stand persists. The resolution has garnered 42 co-sponsors. "If New Zealand wants to be treated as a neutral country," says Mary Beth Carozza, press aide to Senator Cohen, "then it should be treated as a neutral country." A resolution introduced in the House by Representative Dick Cheney of Wyoming would completely cut off U.S. importation of uranium, lamb, wool and beef from both New Zealand and Australia, which refused to assist in a recent test of the MX missile.

In a small way, the Riverside Church Disarmament Program in New York is helping fight the anti-New Zealand sentiment. It has produced a rubber stamp which lists New Zealand exports (strawberries, kiwis, lamb) and the message: "Buy New Zealand Products!" The Freeze Campaign is suggesting that people order the rubber stamp ($9 from Riverside Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027) and write letters of support to New Zealand (*see Calendar, page 21*).

BENSON HEDGES: When 35 million fans tuned in to *Benson* on February 22 they witnessed an episode on nuclear war that took four years of in-house fighting between writers and management and ABC brass before making it to prime time.

Writers Bob Fraser and Rob Danes, who have written and produced *Benson* for five years, argued that this series (set in a state governor's office) gave them the ideal arena to delve into nuclear issues, but network officials disagreed. "They essentially said they couldn't take an antinuclear stand," says Fraser, who insisted there is no other position to take. (His partner, Danes, was a launch control officer at a missile silo in South Dakota for three-and-a-half years during the 1960s.) Networks are concerned about the Fairness Doctrine and alienating advertisers or local station managers, says Ellen Franklin, director of comedy series for ABC in Los Angeles, who approved the story line and joined the writers in the battle. Whether it was Fraser's threat to quit, the popularity of *The Day After*, or, as Franklin suggests, enough people facing their own fear of nuclear war, the network officials finally switched from asking, "Can we do the show?" to "How can we not do it?"

Robert Guillaume as Benson

Fraser and Danes' first script was rejected by the network for making a strong statement against nuclear weapons without presenting different points of view. "The network wanted to show that nuclear war is something to be avoided," says Alan Wurtzel, ABC's vice president of broadcast standards and practices. "But how you go about doing that is where the controversy lies. We wanted the program to project several views, encourage people to think about the issue and draw their own conclusions." The revised episode showed Benson and the Governor cooped up in a bomb shelter for 48 hours during Defense Department war games, awakening to the absurdity of civil defense measures and the futility of planning to survive a nuclear war. "We should *all* get rid of nuclear weapons," concludes Benson. How? Even though we don't have answers, he warns, we shouldn't avoid the question. The show won the

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time slot in ratings and the modest audience response has been positive, according to ABC.

OH CIA CAN YOU SEE?: Contrary to claims by President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and others, the Soviet Union has not been engaged in an "unprecedented" peacetime military buildup. In fact, it has not been building up much at all. According to recent testimony before a congressional subcommittee, the Soviet defense spending surge "dropped appreciably" after 1976—from four to five percent increases per year "to about two percent a year," through 1983.

Who was the source for this astonishing assertion? A Senate "dove"? A non-expert from the peace movement? Neither. The speaker was Robert Gates, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Gates testified before Congress on November 21 but his remarks were not made public, by Senator William Proxmire, until February 21. "It is time for Washington to take official notice," Proxmire says, "that Soviet military procurement has been stagnant for the past seven years and to stop acting like nothing has changed."

Gates said in his testimony that the CIA was confident of its analysis. The Pentagon and the Agency have been engaged in a running battle over Soviet military spending rates. Following the release of Gates' testimony, however, a Pentagon analyst stated that "we really don't take issue with" the lower CIA figures. Although the U.S. buildup under President Reagan—nine percent annually, since 1980—has far outpaced the Soviets' "stagnation" (according to the CIA), Gates estimated that military spending comprises a far higher portion of the Soviets' gross national product—13 or 14 percent, versus seven percent in the United States.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: Food companies and bomb builders are unlikely bedfellows. But Larry Caldwell of the Hanford Oversight Committee, a coalition of Northwest peace, labor, environmental and religious groups monitoring the sprawling atomic complex near Richland, Washington, believes the U.S. Department of Energy is courting the food industry as a lobby for the arms race. "They're thinking all the time," said Caldwell. The intrigue revolves around food irradiation, a technique of preserving fruits, vegetables and meat by bombarding them with gamma rays from radioactive waste.

Proponents tout irradiation as a safe alternative to canning and freezing. Opponents, like Robert Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., say food irradiation is

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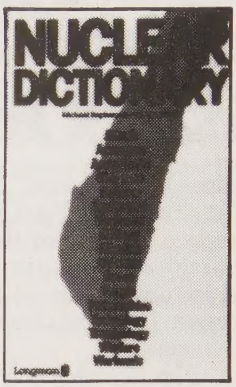

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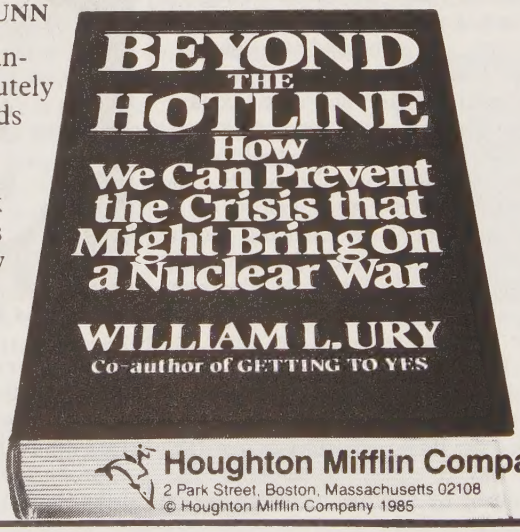
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"extraordinarily dangerous." Whatever the verdict, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration is expected this year to begin allowing some irradiation. The most attractive isotope for this job is gamma-emitter cesium 137—and there, Caldwell says, is the catch.

Cesium 137 is available only in limited supply as a by-product of bomb building. The isotope is found in the boiling hot, radioactive stew left over as waste from Hanford's plutonium-uranium extraction (PUREX) plant, which helps build America's nuclear arsenal by extracting weapons-grade plutonium from the spent fuel of defense reactors. PUREX's supply of cesium would be quickly exhausted by large-scale food irradiation, Caldwell notes. He says food companies would then press hard for more reprocessing at PUREX, perhaps even to include extraction of plutonium—and hence, cesium—from the spent fuel of commercial nuclear power plants, a controversial practice banned during the Carter years. Government officials maintain their motives are pure, and dismiss Caldwell's scenario as improbable.

WHO'S AFRAID OF THE IRS?: While war tax resistance has traditionally lent itself to individual acts of creativity—such as carting food to the IRS in lieu of dollars—increasingly the activity is becoming centralized. The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee (NWTRCC), based in East Patchogue, New York, now has 60 affiliates across the country, and is serving as a clearinghouse for a week of coordinated protests leading up to demonstrations on tax day, April 15. (*See calendar, page 21.*) Last year, 150 demonstrations took place outside of post offices and the IRS; this year organizers predict even more.

"The movement is growing fairly phenomenally," says Kathy Levine, staff person with the NWTRCC. While exact figures are not available, military tax resister organizers estimate that between 10,000 and 20,000 citizens are currently refusing to pay all or part of their federal income tax—four times more than in 1980, according to one IRS official. Levine notes that the effort has been helped by the growing number of tax resisters in the religious community, including the well-publicized case of Seattle's Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, who three years ago began withholding half his income taxes. (The IRS recently collected over $800 in taxes and penalties from the Archbishop's paychecks.)

For the first time, the Freeze Campaign is urging its members to submit letters of protest with their tax returns, and local freeze chapters are coordinating with the Conscience and Military Tax Campaign's Nuclear Tax Freeze Pledge, which requires signers to refuse payment of their military taxes when 100,000 signatures have been collected. (Total number of signers so far: 4,000). Other options for resisters include illegal actions (redirecting taxes to alternative funds for use in social justice and peace issues) and legal ones (voluntarily living below the poverty level).

FLIP SIDES: Remember all those hip references to the atomic bomb in the post-World War II era? Businesses used "atomic" to describe their products and themselves. Down the street would be the Atomic Cleaners. Popular music was no exception. Count Basie, for instance, on one album played "atomic" jazz. The Five Stars, an early rock group, had a hit with "Atom Bomb Baby."

Is there a trend back in this direction? It's not likely, but recently two rock songs with vague and meaningless references to the Bomb hit it big on the charts. The Pointer Sisters scored with "Neutron Dance." After listing a host of problems—the rent is due, the car was stolen, the air is polluted, and dreams have died—they sing, "I'm so happy doing the neutron dance/I'm just burning, doing the neutron dance." The Firm, a new "supergroup"—boasting alumni of Led Zeppelin and Bad Company—made it on to the charts with "Radioactive." Like the "atomic" of old, "radioactive" is used, ironically, to connote virility: "Got to concentrate/Don't be distractive/Turn me on tonight/'Cause I'm radioactive."

The Pointer Sisters: Neutron-happy

COLD WAR CURE: Antinuclear doctors in America and the Soviet Union are working harder to reach the press, the public and their own colleagues. As a start, four Soviet physicians, including Evgueni Chazov, co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), undertook a whirlwind speaking tour of five U.S. cities in February, an effort cosponsored by IPPNW and Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR). The doctors were joined by IPPNW co-president Bernard Lown and PSR president Sidney Alexander.

Lown and Chazov: Tour de force

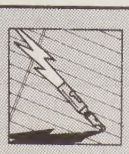
Stopping in Los Angeles (where they joined an international panel at PSR's annual convention), Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Boston, the group gave public symposia on nuclear war, made television appearances (including *The Today Show*), met with editorial boards, and gave medical lectures. A highlight was a Chicago meeting with top board members of the American Medical Association (AMA) where, says Alexander, the AMA gave "tacit approval" to the principle that doctors should alert the government to nuclear dangers.

The Soviet physicians also "basically endorsed" PSR's arms control agenda, including an immediate comprehensive test ban. "It was good for Americans to hear that," says Alexander, who sees both political and scientific exchanges as ways to improve relations between the countries. More exchange visits are now in the works: a group of U.S. physicians will tour the USSR in July, and 10 Soviet doctors will travel here this fall. Both groups also plan to help medical schools in the two countries exchange students—as a first step, 25 Americans will be visiting Soviet medical schools this summer. These efforts, they hope, will inspire other U.S. professionals to get to know their Soviet colleagues.

Items for this section were contributed by Cathy Cevoli, David Corn, Kris Fischer, Alex Miller and Richard Read.

PHOTO (RIGHT) WILLEM DIEPRAAM
ILLUSTRATION BY LLOYD DANGLE

Blue-Prints



Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

Efforts to halt the production of nuclear weapons have thus far proved futile. But what if another avenue was tried: a cutoff in the fissionable material without which the weapons could not be made?

In 1964 President Johnson called a halt to the production of weapons-grade uranium, and began putting the brakes on plutonium output. Today, however, with at least 500 metric tons of highly enriched uranium still in reserve, the Reagan Administration intends to restart production. And the Department of Energy plans to add to the current plutonium supply—somewhere between 75 and 90 tons, increasing it every year by one or two tons. (See related story, page 12.) The Soviet Union, meanwhile, is believed to possess a roughly comparable stockpile of fissionable, weapons-grade materials.

In addition, nuclear power facilities in non-Communist countries alone have extracted over 50 metric tons of plutonium from their spent fuel through a recycling process. Potentially, this plutonium could be upgraded and used to build nuclear bombs.

These indications of growing horizontal and vertical nuclear proliferation gave rise to the recent study out of the Program for Nuclear Policy Alternatives at Princeton University, "Controlling the Source: Verification of a Cutoff in the Production of Uranium" by David Albright, Harold Feiveson, Barbara Levi and Frank von Hippel. The Federation of American Scientists devoted almost the entire issue of its latest *Public Interest Report* to a lengthy summary of this "seminal" study, and called for a Congressional study of the proposal.

Faced with the evidence of a surging, worldwide supply of nuclear weapon power, the four Princeton researchers propose a two-part strategy aimed at pulling the plug on the whole system. They advocate that the United States and the Soviet Union negotiate an agreement to cut off their production of weapons-grade fissile materials. And with an eye to an eventual ban of the nuclear fuel recycling process, they call for a new U.S. policy towards the nuclear recycling industry, which is led by France and England.

Following are some of the political and technical arguments the authors use:

- *Arms Control.* If the production of fissile materials were cut off, an overall lid would be placed on the size of the nuclear arsenal. And because uranium and plutonium are stored in actual weapons, a production cutoff could restrain modernization by forcing governments to dismantle their old weapons before building new ones. By encumbering the process in this way, a production cutoff could conceivably slow the rapid succession of new generations of weapons.
- *The Soviet Viewpoint.* In 1982 Andrei Gromyko called for a fissile production cutoff.
- *Verification.* It would be very easy for either country, using its national technical means, to detect as little as a 10 percent violation of a cutoff agreement.
- *A Recycling Ban.* By restricting the available supply of plutonium with weapons-grade potential, a recycling ban would restrain the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear states.
- *The Non-Proliferation Treaty.* The NPT is coming up for review this fall. If the superpowers show a willingness to restrain their own nuclear output, other countries may be more inclined to sign up with the NPT for one more round.

The study acknowledges a couple of stumbling blocks to a production cutoff. One is the highly-enriched uranium required by naval nuclear reactors. Since the yearly demands for this comprise just one percent of existing U.S.-Soviet stockpiles, the authors suggest that the two countries fuel their naval reactors from their weapon stockpiles. The other exception involves tritium, a rapidly-decaying radioisotope used in nuclear weapons that must be replenished every 12 years. The authors suggest that one nuclear reactor be kept running solely for the production of tritium.

By limiting the available supply of the plutonium and uranium needed to build new warheads, a production cutoff would place an overall cap on the number of weapons that either side could build. But what about modernization? In a telephone interview, co-author Barbara Levi said that a production cutoff "places a constraint on modernization, although not a very tight one." She acknowledged that the plutonium from bigger, older missiles could be placed into greater numbers of smaller weapons, such as the cruise missile. But she pointed out that because some of the smaller weapons, such as the cruise, require plutonium and not the more abundant uranium), a plutonium cutoff would place an outer limit on their numbers.

But in the meantime, before that outer limit is reached, wouldn't a production cutoff achieve the same basic effect as the "build-down" proposal? Wouldn't it give the impression that something was being done to halt the arms race while at the same time allowing the real contest in force modernization to go on?

Yes, said Levi. But that doesn't mean the Princeton scientists are build-down proponents. "A stockpile cutoff is a first step," she explained, "which we hope would pave the way toward stockpile reduction."

—Corinna Gardner

B L U E P R I N T S • B R I E F S

- According to many critics, the Pentagon's primary activity these days is not national defense but drawing up, and lobbying for, its annual budget. The solution—one of several proposals for re-organizing the military—included in a new report out of the **Center for Strategic and International Studies** at Georgetown University: Have Congress prepare military budgets for two-year periods, allowing alternate years for a longer look at military policy. In a forward to the report, six former Defense Secretaries call for increased central control of the military to restrain rivalries among the various branches. Senators Sam Nunn and Barry Goldwater have promised hearings on these proposals this year.
- The **Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy** has revised its 1981 "Statement on the Illegality of Nuclear Warfare." It is now available in a 22-page booklet which includes an excellent bibliography ($1.50 from the Committee, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012). Among other projects, the Committee will soon produce reports on the illegality of a first-use nuclear policy and the legal impact of the Strategic Defense Initiative, plus a handbook called "Enforcing International Law in Domestic Courts."

Bernard Feld

- "If I had the power I'd try a unilateral reduction in atomic arms for six months. Maybe 40 percent. And I'd start by cutting those systems most dangerous to the Soviet system—first-strike weapons. I'd give the Soviets six months to respond, and if nothing happened, well, you'd have to rethink the matter."—**Bernard Feld**, former editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, in accepting the 1985 Leo Szilard Peace Award in Washington, D.C. on February 5.

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

CTB QUEST

Test Ban Wagon Starts Rolling

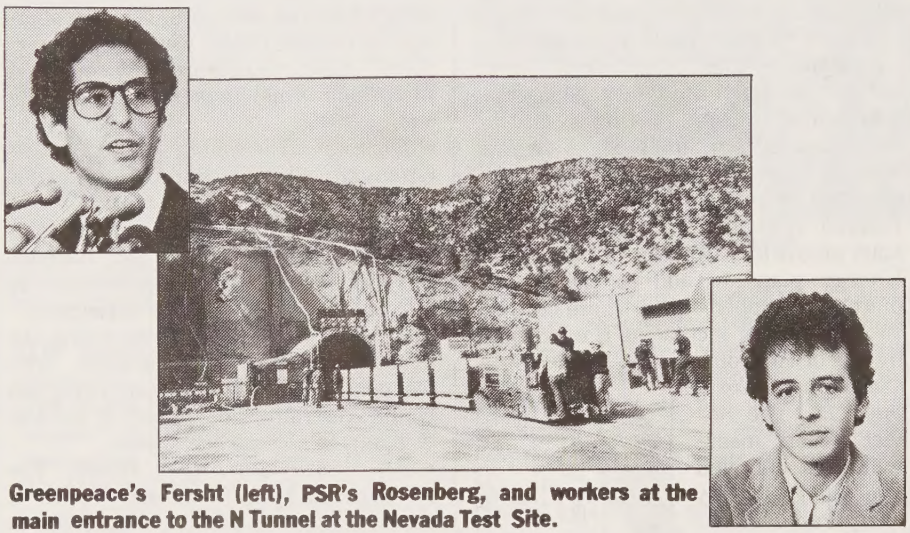
The first nuclear weapons test occurred 40 years ago this July. "The second test," says Mary Lord, deputy director of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) "occurred over Hiroshima." Lord and PSR are part of The 6 August Campaign, a rapidly growing worldwide coalition named after the date of the Hiroshima "test" which is working internationally, in Congress, and at the grass roots to push for an end to nuclear testing as the first step towards a freeze.

The coalition effort, led by the Center for Defense Information (CDI), PSR, Greenpeace, and the Committee for National Security is organizing around a call for a comprehensive test ban primarily because "it's doable," says Eric Fersht, Greenpeace disarmament director. A CTB treaty was all but finalized during the Carter Administration. All that is lacking now is political will, Fersht says.

But political will is no small matter. The Reagan Administration says it considers a test ban only a long term goal. It continues to explode nuclear weapons at the Nevada Test Site, and a test ban has no part in the negotiations at the newly-opened arms talks in Geneva. In the public mind the idea of a CTB, a prominent issue in the '50s and '60s when tests were conducted above ground and produced poisonous fallout, seems to have descended, like the tests, beneath public view.

"Politically CTB is still a second tier priority," says Raoul Rosenberg, who has been hired by PSR to lobby for a CTB in Washington. "The issue isn't hot." But, Rosenberg believes, if the whole arms control community joins the CTB effort, a CTB can be sold to the public "as an alternative to Reagan's Star Wars—as an equally 'hopeful' move that will not cost billions of dollars."

In order to make a CTB a "hot" issue, the campaign is organizing internationally around the upcoming review conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which one activist calls "*the* multilateral arms control event of the next few years," and nationally around the fortieth anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing on August 6. In addition, the coalition is working on CTB legislation on Capitol Hill.



Greenpeace's Fersht (left), PSR's Rosenberg, and workers at the main entrance to the N Tunnel at the Nevada Test Site.

AUGUST STATEMENTS

Grass-roots activities are being planned throughout the country for August 6. By far the most impressive of these is a week-long festival in Los Angeles, "August 1945 – August 1985, Imagine There's a Future." Festival organizers have already attracted support from people ranging from L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley to entertainers Carol Burnett and Richard Dreyfuss. They plan to rent a large stadium (negotiations with the City of Pasadena are now underway for the Rose Bowl) on Sunday, August 4 for an evening of entertainment and speeches which would culminate a week-long series of CTB events. Organized by the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race and the relatively new Hollywood Women's Coalition, the festival will include a film festival, a photography exhibit (organizers also hope to mount the photos on buses and trucks in the city), a series of symposia, and a children's program.

An August 6 civil disobedience action at the Nevada Test Site is being organized by a coalition of religious peace groups, including Sojourners and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. They are planning a day-long series of arrests to protest continued testing and are inviting other religious pacifists to join them. Sojourners' Jim Rice predicts similar civil disobedience actions will occur at nuclear weapon facilities across the country on Hiroshima day.

"The Ribbon," a three-year-old project with organizers in 43 states will culminate on Sunday, August 4, when thousands will ring the Pentagon with lengths of cloth and—because response has been so great—perhaps extend across the Potomac toward the Capitol.

PSR's Washington office and CDI's Nuclear Test Ban Campaign are publishing calendars of CTB events and a newsletter on CTB activity. They are also distributing briefing papers and brochures on the CTB. (*See Box for a listing of additional CTB events.*)

NPT PROMISES

CTB campaigners believe that the September 1 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in Geneva can produce a global call for a CTB. Most of the 127 signatories of the NPT are states that agreed to forgo weapon development in exchange for access to nuclear energy technology and, as outlined in Article VI of the treaty, a superpower commitment to pursue arms control. In addition the treaty specifically mentions, in its preamble, "the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" as a goal.

The non-nuclear weapons states protested the lack of disarmament progress five years ago at the last review conference, but were unable to produce a final statement calling for a CTB or other disarmament measures. This year could be

PHOTO (CENTER) BY ROBERT DEL TREDICI
PHOTO (INSET LEFT) BY STACY P. DUNCAN
PHOTO (INSET RIGHT) BY STEVEN BORNS

different. It already seems clear that a major debate on arms control will take place. And, observers have predicted, some countries may withdraw from the treaty if they are dissatisfied with the superpowers' actions on arms control.

The connection between proliferation and testing was underlined recently by Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin, a signatory of the Five Continent Peace Initiative, and a leader of a "near-nuclear" country which, not having signed the NPT, is not constrained from developing nuclear weapons. Alfonsin says that he is prepared to sign the nuclear proliferation treaty if the superpowers agreed on a comprehensive test ban.

CTB campaigners are approaching Alfonsin, the other signatories of the Five Continent Peace Initiative, and all 127 signatories of the NPT, urging them to call for a CTB and to try to use the NPT conference to push towards that goal. CTB advocates are contacting the governments directly and through their representatives in New York, Washington and Geneva. CTB organizers are also using groups like the 14 foreign Greenpeace organizations, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), and Parliamentarians for World Order to approach foreign governments. Greenpeacers have met with Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, a former UN High Commissioner (and the uncle of the present Aga Khan IV), who is planning to hold his own proliferation review conference of 500 to 600 key players in June. A CTB conference sponsored by IPPNW and the international Freeze Campaign will be conducted in Geneva around the time of the NPT conference to raise the visibility of the issue.

All in all this amounts to what Greenpeace's Eric Fersht calls "an unprecedented global lobbying campaign." But will it have any effect? A U.S. government official involved in the preparation for the review conference who spoke on the condition that he not be identified says: "It looks like people will be getting very confrontational, and that will cause [the U.S.] to hunker down and take the defensive." He added, "We don't want to throw the baby [the proliferation treaty] out with the bathwater [an arms control dispute]." But CTBers point to a successful global campaign in the 1950s which led to a ban on atmospheric testing, and say they will also be working to build a case for the CTB within the United States.

CONGRESSIONAL TESTS

Representatives Jim Leach and Berkley Bedell have introduced a resolution in the House similar to an amendment which passed in the Senate last year. The resolution calls for a resumption of CTB treaty negotiations with the Soviets and the ratification of the Threshold Test Ban and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion treaties. Those treaties include provisions for on-site verification and would put a formal 150-kiloton limit on underground nuclear explosions, a limit which is already observed.

The non-binding resolution is dismissed as an "easy arms control vote" by some analysts, and is expected to pass in the House before the summer. Congresswoman Barbara Boxer has reintroduced another non-binding resolution which calls on the President to stop testing and to challenge the Soviets to do the same. Last year the resolution garnered 65 cosponsors.

If the Bedell-Leach resolution passes, CTB campaigners will begin working on funding cut-off legislation which would create a Congressionally-imposed testing halt. "If we could even get 200 votes on a funding cutoff," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE, "that would really have an impact on the Administration." SANE is not working on the Bedell-Leach resolution, but it will lobby members of Congress on the cutoff bill, Cortright says, adding that a CTB "is becoming a dominant issue," and that SANE is distributing CTB articles and pamphlets to its membership.

Cortright likes a CTB because it is a positive strategy that would halt modernization. A test ban, he says, could help achieve a uniquely American end to the arms race: "Disarmament by obsolescence." —**Douglas Lavin**

Additional CTB actions include: **August Campaign** events in 15 to 20 key U.S. cities on August 6. A **CDI** movie on a CTB (CDI has no comment on a possible role for its advisory board member Paul Newman). An exchange involving Japanese survivors of the atomic bombing and U.S. Marine occupiers of Hiroshima organized by the **National Committee for Radiation Victims** and the **International Alliance of Atomic Veterans**. (The Radiation Victims committee is also working with **Citizen's Call**, a Utah group, and other groups on a September conference on testing and its effects on the Southwest.) **Downwinders**, another southwestern group, is planning events at the May 19 and July 16 anniversaries of Dirty Harry, a damaging 1953 test, and Trinity, the first nuclear explosion. Two possible **PSR** activities: Floating candles or lanterns on streams and lakes on August 6 (the memorial custom in Hiroshima) and an event with doctors who treated Hiroshima victims. The **War Resisters League, Women's Strike for Peace** and **WILPF** are circulating CTB petitions as well as organizing their memberships to work on the issue. —**D.L.**

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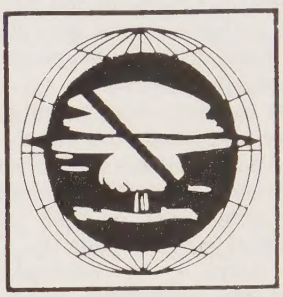

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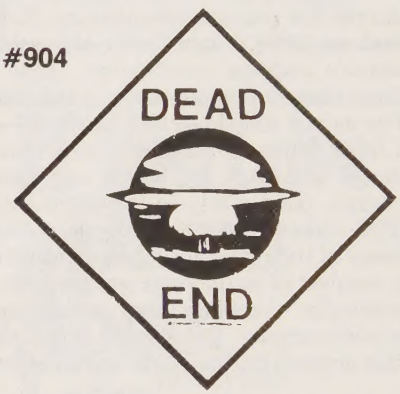

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TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Come From Behind Rally?

In late February, an observer close to the scene was asked about the mood of April Action organizers. "What's the mood?" he replied. "Panic! It's one crisis after another."

Indeed, an array of organizational snafus on the national level—particularly a funding shortfall—had prompted serious consideration of postponing the April 19-22 mobilization in Washington, D.C. Plans for a mass rally, as well as congressional lobbying and civil disobedience activities, were well along. But when word of a possible postponement got around, activists as far away as Florida began to worry about the buses already chartered, the tickets already sold. And organizers in California wondered what effect a postponed D.C. event would have on their own mass gatherings (*see Box, page 11*).

On March 1, the national coalition behind the multi-issue event met in Washington, D.C. with local representatives from around the country. To no one's surprise, Damu Smith, the mobilization's national coordinator, made it clear that things were not going well. The money needed to fuel the event—at a bare minimum $100,000—just wasn't there. Outreach to blacks and other groups, particularly in the Capitol district, was not getting off the ground. And many of the national sponsors (including a number of antinuclear groups), while publically backing the mobilization wholeheartedly, were not translating that support into no-holds-barred action.

It was apparent to everyone at the meeting that it was—finally—time to put up or shut up. Accordingly, when the marathon session was over, participants had pledged over $25,000 to the cause.

Plans were made to step up serious outreach to blacks, labor and other groups. National sponsors, impressed by the enthusiasm of the local representatives, pledged to make the event as powerful as possible. And everyone hoped that it wasn't too little, too late.

Put into historical context, such last-minute scrambling is not alarming. David Cortright, executive director of SANE (one of the early endorsers of the mobilization) and a veteran of such events, observes that "this is about average. These things are always extremely chaotic and behind schedule." And national organizers can congratulate themselves for avoiding (so far) the acrimonious in-fighting that characterized preparation for the June 12 Rally.

But if the mobilization *is* a success, much of the credit will have to go to the hard work of grass-roots activists, many of whom were initially reluctant to divert their attention from local projects. Most are now finding, though, that preparation for the April actions is actually accomplishing important—and hopefully, lasting—work at home, since they're interacting with other progressive groups for the first time.

Gene Podulka, on the administrative committee of the Chicago April Actions Coalition, reports that "blacks, Hispanics, labor and women" have come together—"unprecedentedly"—and that they are planning to send between 30 and 50 busloads of people to the Capitol. In Nebraska, where freeze activists are working closely with members of the Rainbow Coalition, a well-organized campaign is underway to send one person from each of the state's 49 legislative districts to Washington. Bruce Gagnon, who is coordinating Florida's Coalition for Peace and Justice, says that while people are not exactly savoring the prospect of going to Washington, they *are* excited by the event's multi-issue platform.

"We've been wanting to do this for a long time, locally," says Gagnon. "But not all the national groups have really

Lobbying, C.D. In D.C.

What can activists expect to find when they step off the bus in Washington on Friday, April 19? Topping the agenda that day are demonstrations and nonviolent civil disobedience actions at the South African Embassy, followed by an interreligious service. Saturday's rally will begin at the Ellipse at 10:30 a.m. At 12:30 p.m., the march will begin, moving past the White House to the Capitol Building, which activists plan to encircle. A second rally is scheduled from 2:30 to 5:00 p.m. Saturday evening will feature a multi-cultural event and fundraiser. (Organizers are counting on raising substantial amounts of cash from mobilization participants.) Sunday, April 21 will be devoted to training sessions and seminars at Georgetown University for lobbying and civil disobedience actions scheduled for Monday. After some internal debate, organizers decided to limit civil disobedience to the White House, where a sit-in along Pennsylvania Avenue will take place. (At an April Mobilization steering committee meeting in mid-March, a resolution was passed calling for the executive director of each sponsoring group to participate in Monday's civil disobedience activities.)

Lobbyists will push for legislation on all four issues, including the comprehensive freeze bill, the anti-apartheid act, supplementary military aid for El Salvador, and domestic military budget cuts. —R.R.

PHOTOS BY STEVEN BORNS

been pushing for unity. We feel that we've finally got something that ties everything together." In Memphis Tennessee, activists are looking forward to the April actions as a rare opportunity to meet with other peace groups. Strong efforts are also underway in Maine, Kentucky, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts and Georgia, where a newly-formed coalition—working in office space provided by the Rainbow Coalition—held a town meeting in March on the action's four platforms, which enjoy equal billing: no foreign intervention, create jobs/cut the military budget, reverse the arms race and oppose apartheid/end racism.

CRITICAL MASS?

But the problems raised by the April Mobilization are forcing the movement to examine the whole question of mass, multi-purpose marches.

There are many in the antinuclear movement who are concerned that such a mobilization—particularly one that is not meticulously organized—might easily be dismissed by the average member of Congress as being all over the political map. Several leading professional groups, including Physicians for Social Responsibility, are not endorsing or sponsoring the event because they are clearly single-issue oriented. "It's a difficult situation," says one representative of a New York City-based professional group, "because while we are all aware that the issues are linked, it's important not to come across to the public—and the legislators—as a bunch of whining lefties tearing down the fabric of the American social contract." Or as a top staffer with a leading arms control group in Washington, D.C. cautions, "You've got to be selective about how many times you call the grass roots to D.C. When you do, it should be as focused as possible. It takes so much effort to get there—it better be worth it."And there are other problems.The time crunch, organizers are now saying, is partly the result of the weeks spent hashing out the politics and theory of the mobilization's "Call to Action"—something that was impossible to avoid, given the breadth of the groups involved, but which took time away from actual organizing. But leaving aside the inevitable organizational headaches of a broad-based effort, what can the movement hope to gain from a march on Washington?

Nora Hallett, a transplanted westerner now working in Nyack, New York for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (one of the mobilization's sponsors), says it's sometimes hard not to look at a Washington demonstration as east coast chauvinism. "I'm from Oregon," says Hallett, "and speaking from my own experience, a march on Washington just doesn't effect us." Hallett, like many organizers on the national level, feels that the movement's most vital work is being done locally. (Some activists, however, view the April mobilization as a critical first step in the formation of a revitalized national peace movement —one with new leadership, not necessarily based on the east coast, which is larger and more integrated than the one that now exists.)

There is also the question of whether

The West Of The Rallies

Major marches and rallies on April 20 are planned in at least four cities west of Washington,D.C. The largest turnout is expected in **San Francisco**, where the Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice is endorsed by Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley, and numerous labor, church and peace groups. A special effort is being made to include lesbian, gay and women's groups. "We could get 100,000 people," says Howard Wallace, co-chair of the Mobilization's media committee, "it depends on how angry people are."

The **Los Angeles** April 20 Coalition, endorsed by labor, political, church and peace groups, is hoping to draw at least 10,000 people. To the four national goals the L.A. Coalition has added support for the rights of undocumented workers and Central American refugees. "Los Angeles has a unique situation," says Evelyn Sell, secretary of the coalition. "There are at least 300,000 Salvadorian refugees and at least one million undocumented workers living here."

In **Seattle**, the Northwest Action for Peace, Jobs and Justice was late in getting organized, but has substantial labor support and is planning outreach efforts to local church and peace groups, says Rita Shaw, a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, an endorsing organization. Shaw expects demonstrators to come from as far as Portland and Utah.

In **Houston**, the Texas April Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice added a fifth demand to the national agenda. "Stop the deportation of Central American refugees: Stop the prosecution of sanctuary workers" was included, says Arturo Sosa, a member of the coalition, to address the problems of thousands of area Central American refugees.

Some form of direct action—not endorsed by the April 20 Coalitions—may take place in each of these cities on April 22.

—Kris Fischer

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mass mobilizations are truly effective only when centered around a "natural" event or crisis such as the United Nations' special session on disarmament or Three Mile Island. Without an external rallying point, many feel, the numbers needed to make a real impact just won't materialize.

Still, Ronald Reagan is a critical rallying point for thousands in the movement. And there is a growing tendency among mobilization organizers to be philosophical about numbers. "We do not expect a turnout like June 12," says Gwen McKinney with the April Actions national office in Washington. "This rally is totally different in character, focus, location and demands. This is really an opening act." And SANE's David Cortright adds, "This is probably not going to be a giant rally. But even 50,000 people in the streets will make it worth it—especially if we don't overpromote it to the press." And Bruce Gagnon in Florida points out that "people recognize how important it is to show Reagan that the peace movement hasn't died—and isn't about to die."

There will be ample opportunity in the months ahead for second guessing. And it's certain that activists who go to Washington this month are not expecting the event to create a political miracle. But they do want to express their collective conscience. And the prevailing feeling seems to be: We started this—now it better be good. **—Renata Rizzo**

THE G.O.P. GAP

Freeze Seeks New Sponsors

Introduction of this year's comprehensive freeze bill, which reached final drafting form in February after a good deal of debate, has been delayed while Republican cosponsorship is sought. Freeze lobbyists do not expect the bill, which covers virtually every aspect of the arms race and calls for multi-staged moratoria and funding cutoffs, to fly very soon. "We see this as something that may need a year or more to pass," says Pat Harman, legislative director for the Freeze Campaign, "because it's so inclusive and because it goes well beyond other bills." Working in its favor: the proposal embodies some very innovative approaches to sticky verification problems. Waiting for the momentum to build, the Freeze Campaign will work with other groups on enacting parts of the bill, such as halts in the testing of warheads and missile flights. □

PUREX OFFENDER

What Price Plutonium?

Beginning with the Nagasaki bomb, factories at the federal Hanford reservation in Washington state have produced plutonium for thousands of U.S. nuclear warheads. In that time local support for Hanford's labyrinth of nuclear facilities has been as seamless as the curtain of national security which has cloaked the plants' operations for over 40 years. Recently, however, citizens' groups in the Northwest have mounted an unprecedented challenge to Hanford's place as a perennial safe haven for all matters atomic. The issue they've seized upon may portend far-reaching consequences for the nation's aging, nuclear weapons infrastructure and the agency—the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE)—that owns America's nuclear weapons factories.

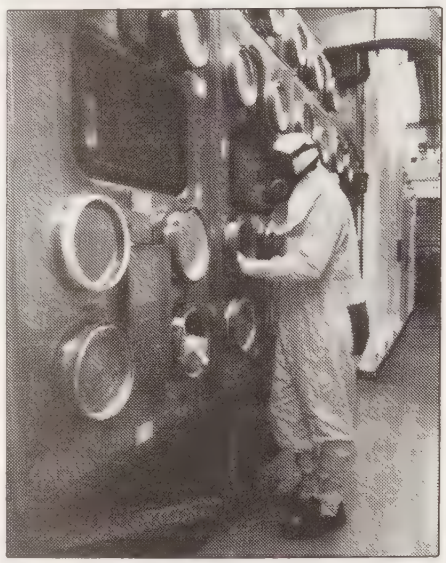
The sudden rise in citizen opposition directed at Hanford is directly related to the present campaign to "modernize" the nation's nuclear forces. Ironically, in order to deploy its newest weapons, the government is having to rely upon some of its oldest nuclear facilities—while trying to convince the public they're safe to operate.

"I think they're worried," says former Washington state senator Margaret Hurley, a frequent critic of the DOE's operations at Hanford and a member of the Hanford Education and Action League (HEAL), a new citizens' group "They know in their hearts they're vulnerable. They know they've got the dirtiest operation in the whole country right there and that it won't take very much to make them shut it down."

The operation in question is the Hanford PUREX plant. More than any other facility, PUREX represents the accelerated pace of the current U.S. nuclear buildup. That it operates today is the result of the fix the DOE found itself in during the last months of the Carter Administration.

Faced with having to supply warheads for the nuclear buildup Carter rather suddenly unveiled, the DOE told Congress that existing sources for weapons grade plutonium weren't going to be sufficient. Although much of the nuclear material for new weapons comes from the cores of "retired" warheads, the agency testified that still more plutonium was needed (*see page 7 for related story*).

Without time to construct new facilities, the DOE looked to its older plants at Hanford and the Savannah River Plant



PUREX worker handles plutonium

(SRP) in South Carolina and announced two could be brought back on line safely. One was the 31-year-old "L" plutonium production reactor at SRP. The other was PUREX. At the time, the more controversial of the two was the "L" reactor, whose scheduled restart was delayed following well-organized opposition from local and national environmental groups. PUREX, on the other hand, resumed operating months *ahead* of schedule.

Built 30 years ago on a plateau 10 miles from the Columbia River, PUREX (the acronym stands for "plutonium uranium extraction") is used to chemically separate plutonium from the other highly radioactive elements present in spent nuclear reactor fuel. For every metric ton of plutonium recovered, however, plant operators must mine the hulls of 1,000 metric tons of irradiated nuclear fuel, a process that results in the handling and disposal of enormous volumes of nuclear waste. After only 10 years, explains noted physicist Ted Taylor, a reprocessing plant like PUREX will accumulate an amount of radioactive isotopes as abundant "as would be produced by the simultaneous explosion right now of all the nuclear weapons in the world."

Even before the restart of PUREX the long-lasting effects of past plutonium processing at Hanford had, according to the Congressional General Accounting Office, rendered the 570-square-mile Hanford site too contaminated ever to be

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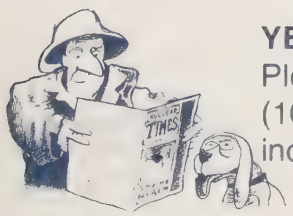

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cleaned up. Several of the huge, underground steel tanks holding high-level wastes are known to have leaked. Still larger amounts of low-level radioactive waste water dumped in soil columns just east of PUREX have formed a radioactive groundwater plume that has already reached the Columbia River.

But the issue at Hanford is more than PUREX itself. It is also the track record of the reservation's landlord, the Department of Energy, and Rockwell International, the contractor which now operates the plant for the DOE.

HEAL FOR HEALTH

"After years of secrecy and deception," says Bill Houff, a Unitarian minister in Spokane and one of the founders of HEAL, "citizens in eastern Washington still find themselves very much in the dark so far as radioactive emissions from PUREX are concerned and the impact of those emissions on their health and the health of future generations."

This winter, the Spokane chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility joined forces with HEAL to begin investigating infant mortality and other health patterns in communities downwind from Hanford. Says Dr. Carl Johnson, a physician and internationally recognized expert on plutonium fallout and health effects who is advising the Spokane group: "Given the business that Hanford is in, the absence of studies for cancers in radio-sensitive organs such as lungs, thyroid and bones among the surrounding population is shocking."

Only two months after PUREX was restarted amid protests of several Northwest citizens' groups—including the Multnomah County Commissioners in Portland, Oregon, 200 miles downstream on the Columbia—the first mishap came to light. Fearing that airborne plutonium emissions from the plant's main stack had reached dangerous levels, Rockwell managers shut down the facility. Only after an anonymous PUREX worker contacted a Seattle newspaper did the DOE and Rockwell officials confirm the incident. Only after three independent scientists analyzed internal Rockwell documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act did Rockwell, six months after the incident, acknowledge the plant had indeed released an extraordinary amount of plutonium dust prior to the shutdown. Rockwell's admission contradicted earlier testimony by a top-level Hanford DOE official who told a state legislative committee that no increased emission of plutonium had occurred.

It was yet another PUREX whistleblower that led to a second public relations disaster for Hanford officials. A Rockwell scientist reported—and DOE officials later confirmed—that two

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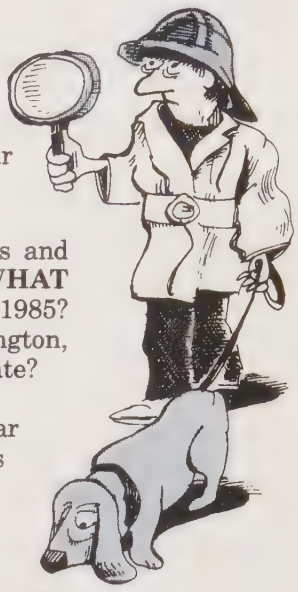

Who are the key legislators and policy makers for and against the nuclear arms race?

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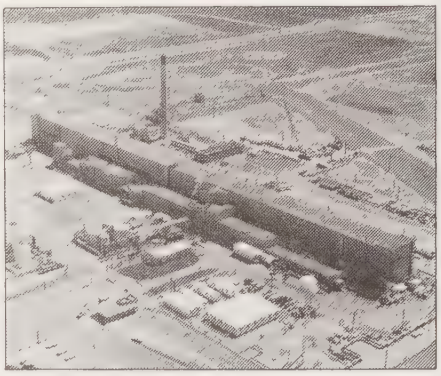
scheduled inventories at the plant had been postponed on orders from DOE headquarters in Washington, D.C. "The push for production was so heavy," the scientist said, "that down where they load out the powder [plutonium oxide] there was no time to clean up, they just kept running, kept loading the powder into cans and shipping it out."

When PUREX finally shut down for its first inventory last September a top-level DOE team was brought in to investigate what officials termed an "inventory difference" of between 20 and 30 pounds of plutonium that could not be accounted for. The material is still missing.

If PUREX really is vital then it leaves the Department of Energy little room to compromise with citizens in the Northwest calling for tighter controls and independent oversight at PUREX and the other Hanford defense plants. But the government does not have to compromise. The Atomic Energy Act of 1954, whose authority the DOE inherited from the former Atomic Energy Commission, specifically exempts nuclear weapons facilities like PUREX from independent regulation and licensing. Thus, PUREX isn't subject to enforcement by the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission, let alone the regulations of state agencies.

Such authority, given recent events at PUREX and DOE's widening credibility gap at Hanford, is clearly bothersome to a growing number of Northwesterners (as well as opponents of other nuclear weapons facilities, such as SRP and Rocky Flats). "If the federal government is saying that harming the health of the people in Washington is just a side-effect of national defense," says Washington state Representative Dean Sutherland, "I can't accept that." Representative Sutherland is one of four cosponsors of a bill calling for increased state monitoring and oversight at Hanford.



PUREX plant: A "legacy of suspicion"

Such legislation faces stiff opposition from Hanford-area legislators whose constituents have vested economic interests in the $1 billion in federal funds slated for the reservation this year. Yet recent events at Hanford have clearly mobilized a considerable challenge to business as usual at Hanford. Even the strongly pro-nuclear *Tri-City Herald*, the paper serving the Hanford area, recently editorialized about "a legacy of suspicion" sown by Hanford managers that "will not be easily or quickly broken down."

As problems at PUREX continue—the plant was closed for an entire week in February for the investigation of an airborne emission of radioactive ruthenium particles—the inevitable question arises over whether PUREX operations are as vital as the government asserts. While the plant's role in the current buildup seems assured, several notable critics have taken aim at plans to expand the plant and continue operations through the 1990s, well past the current "modernization" program.

"The best thing for everybody concerned," says Margaret Hurley, "would be if DOE would shut the plant down. Permanently." Barring that, says the popular former state senator, "We have to have someone looking over their shoulders because they don't act in the best interests of human beings on their own."

—Tim Connor

Tim Connor is a freelance writer in Spokane, Washington.

Wrap-Up

Won for our side: Not only is FEMA's **crisis relocation** (evacuation) plan dead, but latest budget requests show that the Reagan Administration is slashing overall civil defense spending .... Wonder why it's tough to defeat **the MX**? A Common Cause study shows that the top 13 defense contractors working on the missile donated $2.1 million to candidates in 1983–84 .... Statewide **nuclear free zone** campaigns are underway in Alaska, California, Iowa, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon and Rhode Island .... New Zealand Prime Minister **David Lange**, arguing in favor of the proposition that "nuclear weapons are morally indefensible," defeated (in a close vote) the Rev. Jerry Falwall in a debate at the Oxford Union in late February .... the **White Train** (now painted in dark colors) was met by protesters throughout its latest trip in February, with arrests in seven locations. 106 were arrested in Vancouver, Washington after stopping the train for 90 minutes .... While four activists were being convicted in Kansas City for damaging a missile silo with a jackhammer, a supporter, Martin Holladay, was arrested for another **Plowshares** action at the same site, using a hammer and chisel to damage a silo .... The **Ground Zero Pairing Project** has produced a new role-playing arms talk game called "Let's Make a Deal" and is also sponsoring community events around "Reviving the Spirit of the Elbe" .... The Air Force has decided that women can serve as **launch officers** in missile silos, after all, but they will not allow "mixed" male/female crews because, as an Air Force spokesman put it, they "didn't want to add the extra stress on a family of knowing a spouse is locked up for 24 hours with members of the opposite sex" .... In a reversal of form, the **AFL-CIO** executive council has called for a freeze on military spending (if social spending has to be frozen).

DEAD LETTER?

Pastoral Picture Not Bright

When the U.S. Catholic bishops' Pastoral Letter on War and Peace was issued in May 1983, many predicted it would profoundly affect the church throughout the country and alter the relationship between Catholics and their elected rulers. Now, nearly two years later, it is clear the letter is not making the impact expected. The Catholic bishops have moved on to other matters, most notably their next big pastoral letter (on the U.S. economy), leaving the earlier document in the hands of local church leaders where it is suffering from an acute case of benign neglect.

At the February national meeting of diocesan social action directors in Washington, the peace letter appeared nowhere on the agenda. These directors, the logical people to implement programs on peace in their own areas, were entirely occupied with poverty, employment, housing and other aspects of the Economic Pastoral. Last summer the U.S. Catholic Conference quietly shut down its clearinghouse, which had reported regularly on projects developed in response to the peace letter. Today no one associated with that conference or its parent organization, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, is monitoring progress.

A random survey by the *National Catholic Reporter* last December indicated the document has lost much of its momentum. In many Catholic dioceses

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(St. Louis, San Francisco, and Louisville, for example) there was an enthusiastic first wave of interest, with lectures, workshops and symposia on the letter. This has not been followed in most places by a second wave, in which the work of preaching, teaching and influencing the mass of the Catholic faithful becomes a priority. "Interest has slowed down," said a St. Louis diocesan spokesperson. "I get the impression we're wallowing in planning stages," said a reporter for the Dubuque, Iowa, Catholic newspaper. "The problem," said a pastor in Memphis, "is that we just don't know what to *do* with the thing!"

Because of personnel shortages and long-standing administrative commitments, few dioceses have staff working on implementation. Chicago, for example, has only one full-time staff member in its Peace and Justice Office, although the Chicago archbishop, Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, was chairman of the committee which drew up the letter and has been a vigorous proponent of its critical importance. Many small dioceses and some larger ones (Boston, for example) appear to have no official church-sponsored activity concerning the letter. In some of these areas unofficial Catholic or ecumenical groups are trying to take up the slack. The lack of official enthusiasm is upsetting to those who put great hopes in the letter. Speaking last November, Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit said, "It is distressing that so many bishops and our organization itself have pushed the peace issue way down on the agenda."

The picture is not as dismal in Catholic educational institutions, which seem to be taking the letter more seriously than the bishops who wrote it. In many diocesan school systems, committees are coordinating the work of spreading the peace message into all school subjects. In addition, religion textbook publishers like Sadlier and Winston Press are integrating insights from the letter into new editions. Some 180 Catholic universities have appointed campus coordinators for peace programs and are offering a multitude of presentations on the letter and its implications.

To inject new life into the Pastoral Letter, Bishop Maurice Dingman of Des Moines sponsored a retreat in February in Glenwood, Iowa, which culminated in the arrest of 226 participants—including 34 priests— in a civil disobedience action at the nearby Strategic Air Command headquarters in Bellevue, Nebraska. Dingman told reporters: "Part of that document [the pastoral] speaks about a nonviolent approach. We haven't really done much about that up to this point. I felt we ought to try something . . ."

—Robert McClory

ROOT PRESSURE

Freeze Plans Long-Term Lobby

To galvanize support for the comprehensive freeze bill (*see page 12*), Freeze Campaign organizers will create—on the heels of the Lobby Day in Washington, D.C. on April 22—ongoing "lobby-ins" at local congressional offices. Suggested strategy calls for groups to confront legislators with regular "call-ins," weekly vigils and leafletting, and house parties, all of which would build in frequency and number of participants, culminating in hourly visits and phone calls (and possibly stronger measures) during the week the bill comes to a vote. "When there's a major D.C. action," says Angie O'Gormon, field liaison for the Freeze Campaign, "it's doubly effective if it is a beginning rather than an end. The lobby-in will put continuous, intensified pressure on legislators. We won't just be asking for their permission for a freeze. We'll be leaning on them, all across the country." □

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BY SANFORD GOTTLIEB

Facing Soviet Realities

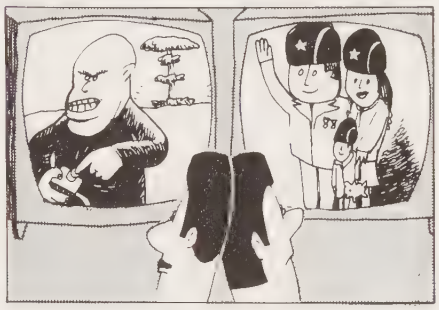
Soviet behavior, real and perceived, is the key to the American public's attitude toward disarmament. And what has been the peace movement's most common response to the issue of Soviet behavior? Avoidance. Silence. Why?

I've worked full-time in the movement since 1960, but it took me a long while to figure out what underlies the avoidance syndrome. The main cause, I have come to believe, is an assumption that discussing Moscow's misdeeds would give ammunition to the right wing, somehow reinforcing its efforts to whip up exaggerated fears of the Soviets.

The right wing's cottage industry of fear incitement will continue regardless of what the peace movement says or does. In any case, the Soviet government itself provides the Right, and much of the general public, with grounds for distrust. Primitives like Jerry Falwell and sophisticates like George Will and Richard Pipes merely add extremist analyses and scary scenarios to a reality that causes legitimate concern. So let's not worry about how we may reinforce the Right's case. Let's consider how we can reach the majority of conflicted Americans with our message.

Contributing to the avoidance syndrome has been a tendency among some activists, rightly critical of their own government, to fail to apply the same critical standards toward their government's chief adversary. This flaw has faded over the years but hasn't completely disappeared. When you last spoke on the arms race to an unconvinced audience or to an unconvinced friend or neighbor, did you encounter acceptance on the goal of disarmament but skepticism or hostility on the prospect of verifiable arms treaties with the USSR? If so, how did you respond? Did you simply downplay Soviet aggressions and/or emphasize equally wrong actions in the international arena by the United States? That approach can raise hackles and block communication unless we take care to introduce a broader context.

That context must flow from the recognition that attitude change is based on appeals to shared values, not just on fuller information. Unless you show that you share their values—the beliefs people hold dear—they will mentally lock you out. Survival is a basic value, the one on which the peace movement bases its primary appeal. But patriotism and freedom are also cherished values, and we usually have little to say about them. Most Americans believe the main difference between the two superpowers is that the USSR is trying to impose dictatorships on other countries while the United States is defending freedom around the world. That conviction and the belief that the Soviets have secret purposes and no scruples undermine popular support for arms treaties.



It's therefore not enough to tell people what they already know, that nuclear war is bad for their health. We also have to make the case that agreements that reverse the arms race *improve* U.S. security. And we must be hard-headed about our judgments of Soviet behavior at home and abroad even while concluding that we and they share common interests on which agreements can be built. We must point out, for example, that while the Soviets will only do what they think serves their interests, their interests and ours overlap in at least three areas: avoiding war, preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, and reducing the economic burdens of the arms race. The two superpowers need not be close friends to act on these common interests, but it would strengthen each side's security if their conduct toward one another was less belligerent.

How we communicate these points is as important as the substance. Skeptical audiences will find us credible if we're honest and fair-minded. This means we must lay out all the relevant facts, however troublesome, and apply a single standard by which to judge both superpowers. After examining Soviet military interventions, uses of surrogate forces in Africa and efforts to overthrow governments through covert action, we should look at American behavior in comparable situations around the world.

All this has little to do directly with disarmament. Yet, in the real world of American public opinion, it has everything to do with it. Current generations of Americans fear and distrust the Soviets largely because of the Soviets' use of force and the repressiveness of their society, not because of Soviet positions on arms reduction. American emotions have been manipulated for years. That manipulation has undermined arms agreements in the past, as with SALT II, and may continue to do so in the future.

To sort out exaggerations from realities, hysterical fears from legitimate concerns, demands a balanced perspective. The peace movement can provide that perspective by introducing, whenever disarmament is discussed, a calm and critical analysis of both Soviet and American behavior.

How can peace groups give a higher priority to the Soviet question? Some have already taken constructive steps. The American Friends Service Committee has held the first in what could become a series of regional meetings on the problem. The Committee for National Security is adding specialists on the USSR to its speaker's bureau. Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War and others have initiated exchanges with Soviet counterparts.

For all of us, however, the first step comes in recognizing that we have been tongue-tied on the question. Then we can follow up by squarely addressing Soviet realities. Part of this process is pleasant enough (the Soviet people are warm and family-centered), part is unpleasant (their government has done some wretched things), some is in between (the Soviet record on arms treaty compliance is moving from good to questionable). The important thing is to discuss it all.

This doesn't mean following a single analysis of Soviet behavior. It does mean publicizing good books and articles, sponsoring training sessions on the problem, and otherwise preparing ourselves to conduct a responsible dialogue with middle America on the biggest single obstacle to arms control.

Sanford Gottlieb is executive director of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM). His booklet, What About the Russians?, *is available for $3.60, including postage, from UCAM, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.*

ILLUSTRATION BY EDWARD HATTON

Notes From Abroad

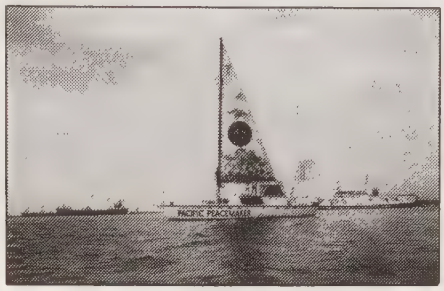
In the wake of New Zealand's refusal to accept port calls from the U.S. Navy, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement has announced an international campaign against the deployment of **sea-launched cruise missiles** (SLCMs) by both the United States and the Soviet Union. Groups in Japan, New Zealand, Fiji, the Philippines, Australia and Canada have already agreed to participate, and a parallel campaign is being organized by the North Atlantic Network in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Iceland and the United States. The campaign aims to deny port access to vessels carrying SLCMs; June 15 and 16 have been designated as the first dates for major protest actions in both the Pacific and the North Atlantic.

Meanwhile, the Greenpeace sailing ship, **Rainbow Warrior**, has set her course for the Pacific to call attention to the effects of military policy and nuclear testing on islanders there, and to publicize the need for a comprehensive test ban. Rainbow Warrior's itinerary includes the Moruroa Atoll, where French nuclear tests are held; New Zealand; Vanatu, and the Marshall Islands, where 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs were exploded between 1946 and 1958. The Marshallese still show unusually high rates of cancer and genetic problems, and many of them have been forced to leave their homes and live in ghetto-like conditions to make room for the military.

Though surface testing has been over for some years now, the Marshall Islands remain one of the Pentagon's most precious assets because of **Kwajalein Missile Range**. Kwajalein is used for testing the accuracy of intercontinental ballistic missiles—including, since June 1983, the MX—which are fired from California to land in the lagoon. Kwajalein also carries one of the U.S. Air Force's most important antisatellite radars, and is a prime development and testing area for components of Ballistic Missile Defense systems (or the Star Wars plan).

Because of these activities, 8,000 inhabitants of the Kwajalein chain of islands have to live in appalling conditions on Ebeye, an island barely one-tenth of a square mile in area. They have repeatedly petitioned the United Nations and the U.S. Congress and staged sail-ins to their requisitioned islands, winning considerable concessions and financial compensation. But under the Compact of Free Association with the United States, signed in June 1983, the Kwajalein islanders have no legal right to stop their lagoon from being used for nuclear target practice, or to reclaim their land.

In another part of the Pacific, the Seattle-based yacht **Pacific Peacemaker** spent the early part of March supporting the Australian peace movement's efforts to close down U.S. military communications bases, ban port calls by nuclear vessels and end uranium mining. Pacific Peacemaker will sail on to Micronesia



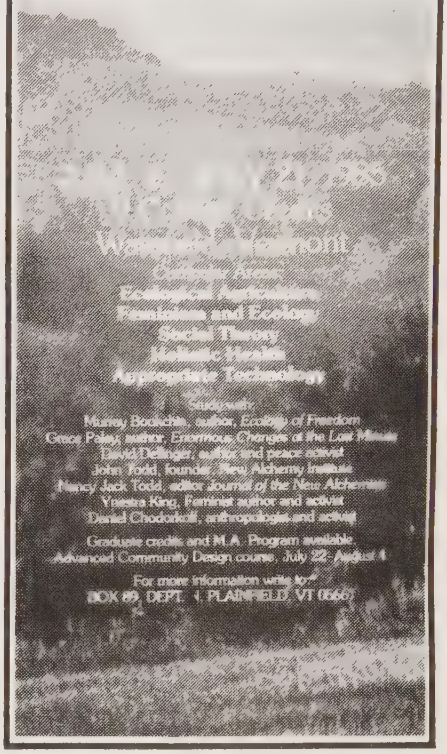
and Japan, to oppose SLCM deployment and dumping of nuclear waste near the Mariana Islands.

• In **Canada**, Greenpeace activists came close to catching a cruise missile in February in a 25-by-100-foot net. The missile was on a flight test over northern Canada, where the terrain resembles the Siberian tundra. The balloons which lifted the net flew a few hundred feet too low to stop the cruise, but tests scheduled for later that week were mysteriously postponed until Greenpeace had gone home. The next cruise tests are due to take place in February 1986, and Greenpeace plans to maintain a permanent presence at the site and to devise new snags.

• Forty years after the Yalta Conference ended World War II and scored a line down the center of Europe, some 200 people, including **West European** peace activists and political exiles from **Eastern Europe**, met in West Berlin to discuss "Peace in a Divided Europe." There was a wide divergence of opinion on how to interpret and change the present situation, but the discussion was friendly, open and constructive. Many participants agreed that a demilitarized zone in central Europe would be a constructive goal for peace movements on both sides of the continent, and in taped and written contributions from Czechoslovakia, two members of Charter 77, the peace and human rights group, suggested that East and West could base their joint work on the Helsinki Final Act. The Act asserts that true peace is not just the absence of war but includes a positive respect for the rights and territorial integrity of states and the rights and freedoms of individuals.—**Maria Margaronis**

PHOTO BY T. R. LANSNER

SOCIAL ECOLOGY SUMMER PROGRAM: SUSTAINING COMMUNITY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Ideas That Work

One thing that will sustain the antinuclear movement is a sense of humor. Three California physicists at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (not to be confused with the Lawrence Livermore Lab) apparently realize this. They've produced an ingenious pocket fallout shelter containing—á la T.K. Jones—a shovel and a bag of dirt (whose secret ingredient is steer manure). The three-inch cube can be kept on one's desk much in the manner of a pet rock. In the event of a nuclear war, the pithy instructions explain, just open the flap, pour the dirt on your head and duck.

Being a movement vehicle, the Pocket Shelter is also educational. The box contains stamped envelopes, preaddressed to U.S. and Soviet leaders, to hold letters urging a halt to the nuclear arms race, and a cogent booklet dissecting civil defense plans and Star Wars. The product has gotten attention from *USA Today*, local papers, and radio stations, and has been picked up by an east coast distributor. Michael Chanowitz, one of the inventors, points out that the device offers just as effective protection from nuclear war as the more expensive government programs. "And," he adds, "*our* method contains just one percent steer manure."

Defense contractors can get a shelter for $9,731.37. Everyone else pays $4.50 (with dirt), $3.50 (without) and $2.50 for bulk orders of 10 or more ($2 for nonprofit antinuclear groups). All profits will go toward disarmament efforts. Write to: No-Tek, 1442A Walnut St, No. 317, Berkeley, CA 94709.

* * *

Although Nancy Goodman, an American from Gainesville, Florida, found herself far from home on her birthday, she was by no means left out in the cold. Wherever she went in the Soviet city of Novorossiisk, a congratulatory message or a bottle of liquor awaited her. Finally, at dinner, in a display of excess that would warm any capitalist's heart, the mayor of Novorossiisk presented Goodman with flowers—followed by a gigantic flaming cake which opened to reveal a bucket of iced champagne.

It would be hard to hate people who would do this kind of thing, let alone allow your country to drop a nuclear bomb on them. This is a premise being energetically pursued by the Gainesville/Novorossiisk Sister City Program, a successful—and ambitious—citizen diplomacy project. It was established in 1982 by a few concerned Gainesville citizens, including Steven Kalishman and his Soviet-born wife Natasha, who came together to counteract mounting superpower hostility. A board of community leaders was formed, the Gainesville City Commission unanimously approved a sister city resolution, and the Kalishmans promptly travelled to Novorossiisk with the resolution and a key to Gainesville.

Nancy Goodman fêted in Novorossiisk

Since then, two delegations, whose ranks included a couple of deputy mayors, have visited Novorossiisk, and members of the project have arranged an exchange of children's art and photography, as well as forums to inform the public about citizen diplomacy. The group puts out a nationally distributed publication, *The Citizen Diplomat*, which reports on all aspects of citizen diplomacy, in Gainesville and elsewhere—particularly sister city projects. Judging by the *Diplomat's* advertisers—like Sonny's Real Pit Bar-B-Q—the project is enjoying a fair amount of community support.

"It's because we're not political," says Steve Kalishman. "It's a sacrifice, but it's worth it, since our activities don't threaten anyone or call anyone's patriotism into question."

One of the unusual aspects of the Gainesville program, he adds, is that it is handled—on both sides—by community groups, without overt government intervention. "We can take people to the Hermitage and other fantastic museums," Kalishman says, "but the one thing they'll remember is sitting down to dinner with Russians without any officials around, or striking up an informal conversation with a Russian in a restaurant."

Fueled mainly by contributions from individuals and local businesses (travelers pay their own expenses), the project is thriving. Four delegations—including dancers, veterinarians and artists—will travel to Novorossiisk this year. And a local television station is filming a 30-minute documentary on the evolution of the project. To get your own program going, send $45 to Sister City Starter Kit, c/o *The Citizen Diplomat*, 35 N Main St, Gainesville, FL 32601 or call (904) 376-0341 for advice. **—Renata Rizzo**

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

BOOKS

The Peace Catalog contains more than 60 articles by well-known figures in the movement (Sagan, Caldicott, Willens), as well as one Californian's hilarious account of how she paid her IRS "war taxes" with an eight-foot replica of a Pershing II missile. And there's much more in this 350-page book—essays, historic arms control documents, an 80-page directory of over 1000 peace organizations (state by state) and over 4000 books, films, and other resources. ($14.95 paper, Press for Peace, 5621 Seaview Avenue, NW, Seattle, WA 98107 206-784-1943.)

SCHOOL WORK

Cambridge Forum has assembled, on eight audiocassettes, 16 programs featuring prominent participants in arms control and national security efforts. In the series are Jonathan Schell on his book, *The Fate of the Earth*; Dr. Helen Caldicott on "Ending the Arms Race"; William Ury on "Can We Control a Nuclear Crisis?"; and Adele Simmons on "Teaching About Nuclear War." Good for the classroom, concerned parents or community groups. ($7 per tape, $50 for all eight from Cambridge Forum, 3 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2727.)

The Nuclear Arsenal Reader. A brief introduction to the nuclear weapons deployed by the United States and the Soviet Union, this 40-page manual, assembled by a group of graduate students and faculty at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, explains how these weapons work, their history, and who has what. This beginners' guide includes a brief glossary, suggestions for further reading, and, on the back cover, an excellent 10-question quiz. ($2 each; lower prices for bulk orders from Harvard Educators Concerned About Nuclear War, 333 Longfellow Hall, Appian Way, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

Ain't Gonna Study War No More, by Milton Meltzer. The author, who specializes in histories of social issues for young people, has written a low-key but forceful account of pacifism in the United States. "For a country with a rather short history," he begins, "ours has done quite a bit of fighting. We have taken part in seven officially declared wars. And without the approval of Congress, we have sent our armed forces beyond our borders over 165 times." This book is full of unsung heroes like the actor Lew Ayres, who in the 1940s starred in the film version of the antiwar novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, and was

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE GAINESVILLE/NOVOROSSIISK SISTER CITY PROGRAM

Missile from America's War Machine

moved to become a conscientious objector. ($12.50 hardcover, Harper & Row.)

3-D Slides. Photographer Jim Terr, who specializes in unique three-dimensional photos of ordinary Soviet citizens—who often look surprisingly American—is making kits of his slides available to schools and the public. ($16 the set, which includes 21 color slides and 3-D viewer, from Jim Terr, 1037 Seventh Street, Las Vegas, NM 87701.)

FACT SHEETS AND BOOKLETS

Council for a Livable World offers two new fact sheets: **"The MX Missile"** and **"The Trident II Missile."** (Both fact sheets are free from Council for a Livable World, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108 617-742-9395.)

The Center for Defense Information is publishing a new edition of its **"Nuclear War Prevention Kit,"** a 36-page booklet that answers the question, "What Can I Do?" by describing simple steps towards individual, community, national, and worldwide outreach. The booklet also includes long lists of organizations and other resources ($5). The Center has also updated its **Force Level Calculator** ($3), a cardboard pocket calculator that tells you "Who's Ahead" and summarizes US, USSR, NATO, Warsaw Pact, and Chinese military strength at a glance. (All resources from Center for Defense Information, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, DC 20024 202-484-9490.)

Days To Remember, by the Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee. A stunningly effective 40-page booklet of color and black and white photos of the atomic bombings and their aftermath, with captions and background information (in English). The product of a mass citizens' movement in Japan, this booklet will be especially useful to activists planning events coinciding with the 40th anniversary of the bombings this August. ($1 per copy, minimum order of 50, from Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee, Shiba 1-4-9, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 105 Japan.)

FILMS

No Immediate Danger, 30-minute black and white videotape, produced and directed by Gerald Saldo and Joan Engel. Strabane, a small community in southwest Pennsylvania that is Engel's hometown, was the site of America's first radium plant. Radium processing began there in 1911, continuing until 1966, when the 17-acre site, which also borders two other small towns, was decommissioned and declared safe. But in 1977, the Department of Energy belatedly found that contamination levels on the site, where there were now 16 non-nuclear businesses with 200 employees, were way above safety levels. Meanwhile, a lagoon full of plant waste had been filled in and used as a ball field, and bricks and sand from the site had found their way into citizens' gardens and homes. Engel's sister-in-law, Agnes, featured in the videotape, conducted an informal survey of 150 homes immediately adjacent to the site, and recorded 70 cases of thyroid problems. The filmmakers document efforts to organize and pressure the DOE into cleaning up the site and conducting a large-scale epidemiological survey of health problems. The filmmakers have also found a central New Jersey town with an almost identical problem, as well as 27 other sites, mostly in the West (and, unlike Strabane, away from populated areas). But, as Agnes Engel says to one official, it seems like too many officials (and residents) just don't want to know. ($125 sale, $60 rental from No Immediate Danger, 250 Mulberry Street, New York, NY 10012 212-431-1140.) □

SPECIAL MENTION

Arsenal of Democracy III: America's War Machine, The Pursuit of Global Dominance, by Tom Gervasi. This is the third volume in a series that Gervasi, director of the Center for Military and Research Analysis in New York City, has been publishing since 1978. It combines an impressive catalog of the range and number of nuclear and conventional weapons manufactured and sold by the United States, with analyses of their price and performance. Gervasi takes a sharply critical look at strategic policies and costs of weapons that may or may not meet performance standards or delivery schedules. Pointing out that "by every significant measure of strategic power" America is way ahead in the arms race, Gervasi also chronicles government misrepresentations that are used to justify military spending and avoid significant arms reductions. (Grove Press, $14.95 paper.)

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GOOD READING

The People. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4.00/one year, includes free pamphlet, "'The Nuclear Winter'" $1.00/four months. **The People (NT)**, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

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PHOTO BY U.S. ARMY: FROM BOOK: AMERICA'S WAR MACHINE

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled.
May events due by April 5.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

JOBS WITH PEACE

The Jobs with Peace campaign is organizing "budget accountability" hearings across the country for **April 13**. The hearings are designed to bring the national debate on military spending and increased budget cuts to the local level, and give citizens the opportunity to address their congressional representatives in person. *Contact*: Tony Crayton, Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer St, Boston MA 02110 (617) 338-5783.

TAX DAY

On **April 15**, tax day demonstrations will take place around the country to support war tax resistance and protest escalating military spending. To find out what's happening in your area, or to register your action, *contact*: The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 2236, Patchogue, NY 11272 (516) 654-8227. 654-8227.

TRUCK WATCH

A week-long campaign, beginning **April 16,** will give activists a chance to witness the passage of H-bomb trucks through their communities and participate in nonviolent protests. Volunteers will keep vigil at DOE H-bomb facilities in Tennessee and Texas, and at factories in South Carolina, Colorado and California. Once truck convoys leave the sites, word will be transmitted to participants in dozens of communities along the truck route. *Contact*: Sam Day, Nukewatch, 315 West Gorham St, Madison WI 53703 (608) 256-4146.

UCAM LOBBY DAY

College students, faculty and staff from around the country will gather in Washington on **April 18** for Lobby Day. The group will meet with legislators to discuss a wide range of nuclear issues and confirm its opposition to existing nuclear weapons policies. Participants will also attend workshops and meet with professional arms control lobbyists and the press. *Contact*: Phil Antweiler, United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, 1346 Connecticut Av NW, Ste 706, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-6206.

NUCLEAR WINTER

A multimedia presentation, "Nuclear Winter: Changing Our Way of Thinking," with Carl Sagan, will take place in Washington, D.C. at the Lisner Auditorium at 7 p.m. (EST) on **April 18**. The show is available for live broadcast—free—to local cable and public television stations across the country. *Contact*: Debbie Murton, Public Interest Video, 1736 Columbia Rd NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202)797-8997.

FOUR DAYS IN APRIL

See story, page 10.

EARTH DAY CELEBRATION

A weekend of concerts, rallies, workshops, tree-planting and other events to celebrate the 15th anniversary of Earth Day will be held in Los Angeles, California from **April 20-22**. *Contact*: Jerry Rubin, Santa Monica/Venice Alliance for Survival, 1013 Sixth St, Santa Monica, CA 90403 (213) 399-1000.

TIME TO SAY NO

"No Business As Usual," a day of nationally coordinated activities against war, intervention, racism and sexism aims to disrupt and shut down as much as possible the daily routine of American life. *Contact*: Stephanie Tang, No Business As Usual National Office, 33091/2 Mission St, #127, San Francisco, Ca 94110 (415) 550-8506.

HANDY DANDY AVAILABLE

Handy Dandy, a comedy but, the 2-character antinuclear play by William Gibson, is now available to peace groups throughout the world to produce for fundraising and community outreach. *Contact*: Robert Teague, Handy Dandy Peace Project, 294 North Main St, Deerfield, MA 01373 (413) 665-2444..

LETTERS OF SOLIDARITY

Peace Movement New Zealand is accepting messages of support for the New Zealand government's refusal to allow U.S. nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships into its ports. *Send to*: Peace Movement New Zealand, PO Box 9314, Wellington, New Zealand.

APRIL 3

NEW YORK

• **New York** Symposium, "Mutual Assured Survival: The Political and Technological Components," with Jonathan Schell, Richard Garwin and others; Columbia University School of Law. *Contact*: Daniel Arbess, The Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 334-8044.

APRIL 4

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Good Friday vigil and religious service, followed by all-night candlelight vigil and procession, "Stations of the Nuclear Cross"; General Electric plant, 32 and Chestnut Sts. *Contact*: Bob Smith, Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

APRIL 5

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Participants in the "Good Friday Walk for Justice" will stop at corporations and embassies around the Chicago Loop to protest US economic and foreign policies. *Contact*: Dorothy Gartland, 434 S Wabash, Rm 700, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 427-4351.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Keene** Second annual SOAR Spring Peace Festival, with workshops, speakers, music, exhibits, and more; Keene State College. *Contact:* Students Opposed to the Arms Race, Student Union Building, Keene State College, Keene, NH 03431 or call Scott Saxby at (603) 352-9731.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Third Annual Good Friday Peace Walk. *Contact*: New York Pax Christi, 11 Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 (212) 280-3663.

APRIL 8

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Meeting, "The Freeze in '85," educational workshops on the freeze, military budget, Star Wars and arms control, followed by a strategy and organizing session; Central Methodist Church, Grand Circus Park. *Contact*: Fred Miller, Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze, PO Box 2257, Detroit, MI 48226 (313) 577-5053.

APRIL 10

NEW YORK

• **New Rochelle** Concert for Jobs, Peace and Justice, with Pete Seeger and Guy Davis; St. Catherine's Church. *Contact*: WESPAC, 255 Grove St, White Plains, NY 10601 (914) 682-0488.

APRIL 12

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Conway** Talk, "Star Wars: The Militarization of Space," with Robert Bowman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies; Fox Ridge Motel. *Contact:* David Snyder, Rte 113, PO Box 56, Madison, NH 03849 (603) 367-8540.

APRIL 13

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Conference, "Consistency in Non-Violence," with Daniel Berrigan; Loyola University. *Contact*: Marianne Griebler, (312) 631-3590.

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** Conference, educational forum for high school students interested in nuclear issues; Schaffer Hall, Johns Hopkins University. *Contact*: Willy Hug, High School Students for Social Responsibility, 421 Drury Lane, Baltimore, MD 21229 (301) 323-4110.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Peace Convention, with workshops on the sanctuary movement, apartheid, church investments and more. *Contact:* Clergy and Laity Concerned (612) 871-8033.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Concord** New Hampshire Rally for Peace Jobs and Justice, in support of the national April mobilization in Washington, D.C. *Contact:* New Hampshire Freeze, PO Box 1556, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 228-0559.

APRIL 14

NEW YORK

• **New York** Discussion, "How to Participate in the Peace and Justice National Mobilization," organizing for Spring Mobilization in Washington, D.C.; Riverside Church, 9th floor Tower. *Contact*: David Schilling, The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Riverside Drive at 122nd St, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

APRIL 18

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Demonstration against weapons manufacturing, outside Honeywell's annual shareholders' meeting; Orchestra Hall. *Contact*: Marv Davidov, The Honeywell Project, 3144 10 Av S, Minneapolis, MN 55407 (612) 823-6126.

APRIL 20

HAWAII

• **Honolulu** "Forum on Peace and Human Needs," sponsored by the Freeze Coalition and Hawaii Alliance. *Contact*: Eileen Fujimoto, Hawaiian Coalition for a Nuclear Freeze, PO Box 3975, Honolulu, HI 96813 (808) 946-8868.

APRIL 26

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Conference, "Los Angeles Women's Conference on National Security," with Paul Warnke, Lawrence Korb, William Colby and other officials from the Ford, Carter and Reagan administrations, to educate women on national security issues; Ackerman Union, UCLA **through April 27**. *Contact*: Alison Grabell, 543 N Fairfax Av, Los Angeles, CA 90036 (213) 209-7801.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Symposium, "Psychological Aspects of the Nuclear Arms Race Defense Mechanisms: Arms and the Man," with Robert Lifton, John Mack, Benjamin Spock, Justin Frank, Studs Terkel; Marvin Center, George Washington University. *Contact*: Susan Leighton, PSR of Greater Washington, 200 Third St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 543-0672.

APRIL 28

NEW YORK

• **Freeport** "Breaking The Iron Triangle," a discussion of the interrelationship between the Pentagon, arms manufacturers and Congress, with Gordon Adams and others; Monroe Hall, Hofstra University. *Contact*: Adele Lawrence, 502 N Brookside Av, Freeport, NY 11520 (516) 378-3535.

• **New York** Celebration, "Peace Sabbath," worship service and educational program on disarmament, with William Sloane Coffin and others; Riverside Church. *Contact*: David Schilling, The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Riverside Drive at 122nd St, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

APRIL 29

NEW YORK

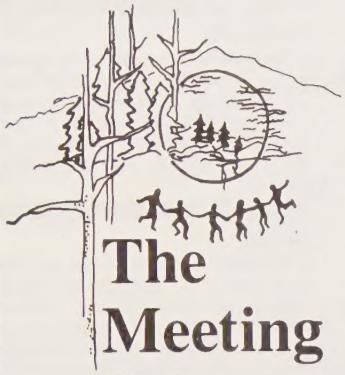
• **New York** Debate on homeport issue, followed by slide presentation of Architects for Social Responsibility (ASR) Chairman Sidney Gilbert's trip to the Soviet Union; City University Graduate Center. *Contact*: ASR, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 260-6131.

MAY 3

COLORADO

• **Colorado Springs** Convention, "Stop The Arms Race In Space," with Rep Pat Schroeder, Richard Garwin, Herbert Scoville; Mitchell High School **through May 5**. *Contact*: Vicki Metcalf, STARS Convention, PO Box 915, Colorado Springs, CO 80901 (303) 471-1077.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo and Kris Fischer



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AUGUST 6 AUGUST 9

Yoshito Matsushige, a photographer for the *Chugoku Shimbun*, wandered around Hiroshima for several hours on August 6, 1945, carrying one of the few cameras that survived the atomic bombing and two rolls of film with 24 possible exposures. This was no ordinary photo opportunity. Matsushige lined up one gripping image after another: a woman nursing a dead baby, a streetcar filled with charred passengers still hanging onto their straps. But he could only push the shutter five times. When he was done he returned to his home, about two miles from the hypocenter, and developed the pictures in the most primitive way, since every darkroom in the city, including his own, had been destroyed. Under a star-filled sky, with the landscape around him littered with collapsed homes and Hiroshima smoldering in the distance, Matsushige washed his film in a creek and hung it out to dry on the burned branch of a tree.

Photographer with portfolio, and historic photo (right): We are on that road to Hiroshima, staring into the black whirlwind. . . .

These five photos were apparently the only pictures taken in Hiroshima on August 6. They are all the world will ever know about what Hiroshima looked like on that day. Only Matsushige knows what the 19 photos he didn't take would have looked like.

When the bomb hit on August 6, 33-year-old Yoshito Matsushige, a short, slim newspaper photographer, was two miles southeast of the center of Hiroshima, eating breakfast and reading his newspaper. When the great white light flooded the room he immediately thought of the magnesium flash used by photographers; it was as if God himself was photographing the earth. Then Matsushige was blown across the room, the walls collapsed and the roof fell. He fled with his wife to a nearby field. The smoke was so dense he could not see her face, he could only feel the warmth of her hand. After a few minutes the cloud cleared and, he recalls, "maybe my professionalism awoke." Returning to his home, he dug out his hand-held Mimiya camera and 6×6 film—and suitable clothes to wear to work—from under the debris, and left for the *Chugoku Shimbun* office.

Heading northwest, he crossed the river at the Miyuki Bridge, a mile-and-a-half from the hypocenter. Matsushige now saw that a hellfire of flames up ahead would prevent him from proceeding. When he returned to the bridge he was surprised to find that it was suddenly filled with people. Some were already dead. A woman carrying a dead, blackened baby was walking about, calling its name. Matsushige retreated and framed a photo of this mother and child. He touched the button but could not push it. "My injuries were not serious," he says, "and this scene was so atrocious. Most people were burned. I thought they would be enraged if someone took a picture." Twenty minutes later, long after the woman had left, Matsushige finally "gathered all my courage" and took the first picture taken in Hiroshima on August 6. "I think it was professionalism which moved me to take it," he explains.

Matsushige, a frail man with thinning dark hair, now in his early 70's, sits quietly in his chair along a massive table in a conference room on the eighth floor of the *Chugoku Shimbun* building, just across from Hiroshima's Peace Park. He

PHOTO (LEFT) BY GREG MITCHELL
PHOTO (RIGHT) BY YOSHITO MATSUSHIGE

holds up a portfolio of his work and points to the left side of the first photo where a line of victims are sitting, legs folded to their chests. They seem utterly dazed, defeated. No one is wailing or crying out. Skin and clothing hang from their arms in tatters. Two of the men appear to be burned bald. They all stare, as if in a trance, at what lies ahead of them across the bridge in central Hiroshima: a tornado of flame and smoke edging closer to the suburbs. "August is the hottest time of the year," Matsushige comments. "The asphalt road was burning. A naked baby was lying on this road." He points to where the people are sitting. "So it must have been incredibly painful for these people."

When he lined up the second photo in the same spot, tears flowed and blurred the view finder. "I thought America had done such a terrible thing," he says, "even though they had to win the war."

All of the figures in both photos have their backs to the photographer. They are staring at the approaching holocaust, not at Matsushige. In not a single picture that he took that day does anyone look toward the camera. And although many in the photos no doubt died later, not one of his photographs shows a corpse.

Yet the two pictures taken at Miyuki Bridge capture the horror of the atomic bombing better than any of the photos of lifeless faces and broiled bodies that followed. Perhaps that is because the people in Matsushige's photos are not just feeling the aftereffects of the explosion—they are experiencing the bomb itself. It has not yet finished with them or their city. In Matsushige's photos the bomb seems to have a shattering life of its own, and it is still advancing. With their backs to the photographer, we cannot read the victims' expressions in these grainy black and white photographs. But the terror evident in the way they are moving or simply standing still says more about the human response to the monstrous unknown than any horror film or nuclear holocaust drama on television. And because the photographer has the same perspective as his victims we see what they see. We are on that road to Hiroshima, three hours after the bomb fell, staring into the black whirlwind. Matsushige turned an apparent weakness—the inability to focus on a single face—into two of the most unselfconsciously artful photographs ever taken. The photos are so affecting because, ever since that day, all of us have, in a sense, been standing on the road to the Miyuki Bridge, alive but anxious, and peering off into the distance at the smoke and firestorm that is approaching but has not yet arrived.

* * *

Sitting next to Matsushige at the table is a shy, thin woman in a turquoise dress. She nods often as Matsushige speaks, and says, "so des nay" (it is so). She knows what it was like on the Miyuki Bridge that day at a little after 11 a.m.; she is the teenage girl in the white blouse standing on the right side of Matsushige's first August 6 photograph.

Mitsuko Kochi caused a sensation in 1973 when she stepped forward and identified herself as the girl in the photo. But she has never had a chance to talk with Matsushige about "that day" until this day. It is a thrilling moment. Excitedly they talk about how they happened to arrive at the bridge at precisely the same moment on August 6. She says that she was fleeing from Hiroshima with her father at the time the picture was taken. Hours later they were sitting in an open field way out near the harbor when a woman friend of the family came up to her and handed her some bones, still hot, and said, "This is your mother."

Before Mitsuko Kochi leaves, Matsushige asks her what she thinks about when she looks at his pictures. "I have an awful feeling and I am horrified," she says somberly. "But somehow I'm glad that the pictures were taken. I want to thank you." Why? he asks. "These are pictures that can never be taken again," she replies, "and must never be taken again."

Today, for the cause of peace, Yoshito Matsushige lets antinuclear groups reprint his utterly unique photos without charge. "When I think about the day I took these pictures I can never think about making a profit off them," he explains.

Does he wish, then, that he had captured 19 additional images on August 6, 19 further arguments for the abolition of atomic bombs? "I'm often asked that," Matsushige says. He looks down at his skinny hands, and rubs his palms together quite hard. He may be asked this question often but he doesn't seem to have a ready answer to it. "Now we see an everlasting arms race," he finally replies, looking up. "Given that situation you'd think I'd wish I'd taken more. If I had more pictures they could be very useful for the antinuclear movement. Sometimes I think I should have gathered my courage and taken more photos." He looks down again. "But at other times," he continues, "I feel I did *all I could do.* I could not endure taking any more pictures that day. It was too heartbreaking."

With that, Matsushige packs up his things, bows deeply, and leaves the room, dapper in a straw hat, blue suit and bright white shoes, carrying under his arm a portfolio of photographs that must never be repeated. **—Greg Mitchell**

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